

Message Text

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ONLY TONY LAKE, DIRECTOR S/P - WTE-1 FOR USDEL SEC

E.O. 11652; N/A

TAGS: PGOV, XX

SUBJECT: DRAFT TEXT

∴ I AM PROUD AND DEEPLY MOVED TO BE THE FIRST AMERICAN

PRESIDENT SINCE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT TO VISIT SUB-

SAHARAN AFRICA, AND TO BE THE GUEST OF YOUR GREAT NATION.

2. DURING MY FIRST YEAR AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

I HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH GENERAL OBASANJO, LEARNING FROM

HIM AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS WHILE OFFERING AMERICA'S
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EFFORTS IN PURSUIT OF OUR COMMON HOPES AND INTERESTS. OUR

COOPERATION HAS HAD A SPECIAL MEANING FOR ME, SINCE AFRICA

HAS BEEN SO MUCH IN MY THOUGHTS DURING THE PAST FIFTEEN

MONTHS.

3. OUR COUNTRIES HOLD MUCH IN COMMON, BECAUSE WE FACE A

SIMILAR CHALLENGE -- THE DEVELOPMENT OF VAST AND DIVERSE NATIONS, MAKING USE OF GREAT RESOURCES FOR THE BENEFIT OF OUR PEOPLES.

4. AMERICANS ADMIRE THE ENERGY, THE PRAGMATISM AND THE SENSE OF OPTIMISM OF THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE, FOR THESE ARE QUALITIES WHICH WE PARTICULARLY VALUE.

5. THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN THESE QUALITIES IN ITS EFFORTS FOR PEACE AND HUMAN PROGRESS, IN THE ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY, AT THE UNITED NATIONS, AND IN OTHER COUNCILS WHERE NATIONS SEEK COMMON GROUND.

6. WE ADMIRE ALSO THE HUMANE AND CREATIVE WAY IN WHICH

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NIGERIAN HAS COME THROUGH A DIVISIVE AND BITTER CRISIS.

THROUGH PUBLIC DEBATE AND FAR-SIGHTED PLANNING, YOU ARE DESIGNING A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE.

7. OUR TIES GO BACK MANY YEARS. NIGERIAN STUDENTS CONTRIBUTED TO MY OWN COUNTRY, AS WELL AS YOURS, WHEN THEY FIRST CAME TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

YOUR FIRST PRESIDENT, NMAMDI AZIKIWE, ATTENDED STOVER COLLEGE IN WEST VIRGINIA. TODAY, 15,000 NIGERIAN STUDENTS HAVE BEEN WELCOMED TO AMERICA.

8. OUR NATIONS, AND OUR CONTINENTS, ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY STRONG CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES THAT WE INHERIT FROM OUR HISTORIES.

9. WE SHARE, AS WELL, THREE BASIC COMMITMENTS TO THE FUTURE OF AFRICA:

--A COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

-- A COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

THAT MEETS THE BASIC NEEDS OF PEOPLE IN EVERY NATION.

-- A COMMITMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND TERRITORIAL IN-

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TEGRITY, FREE FROM MILITARY INTERFERENCE BY NATIONS BEYOND

THE CONTINENT.

10. THESE THREE COMMITMENTS SHAPE OUR ATTITUDES TOWARD

AFRICA.

LL. AMERICANS SHARE THE COMMITMENT OF ALL AFRICAN NATIONS

TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

12. MY CONCERN FOR THIS PRINCIPLE LED ME TO SEND VICE

PRESIDENT MONDALE TO MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN

VIENNA LAST MAY. THE MESSAGE THE VICE PRESIDENT CARRIED

FROM ME WAS THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WOULD

DEPEND ON WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA BEGAN MOVING TOWARD AN END

TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

FOR ALL HER PEOPLE.

13. WE STAND FIRM IN THAT MESSAGE.

14. AFTER THE DETENTIONS AND BANNINGS LAST OCTOBER, MY

COUNTRY JOINED IN THE FIRST UNITED NATIONS EMBARGO TO BE

IMPOSED ON A MEMBER STATE. I HAVE ENDED OUR EXPORTS TO THE

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SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE FORCES, AND I HAVE ORDERED A CONTIN-

URING REVIEW OF OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY.

15. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SUPPORTED SUCH MEASURES. A CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION OVERWHELMINGLY CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICAN OPPRESSION.

16. BUT WE MUST ALSO KEEP OPEN THE DOOR TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, SHOULD REAL PROGRESS WITHIN THAT NATION TAKE PLACE.

17. OUR PURPOSE IS NOT TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR BLUEPRINT OR MASTER PLAN FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. THE SOLUTION MUST BE ONE THAT EMERGES FROM A GENUINE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AMONG SOUTH AFRICA'S LEADERS OF ALL RACES. AND IT MUST RESULT IN THE PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY.

18. I THINK SUCH A SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND.

19. AS ANDREW YOUNG SAID HERE IN LAGOS ALST AUGUST, A BELIEF IN DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE IS NOT NAIVE IF WE ARE READY TO WORK TO REALIZE THOSE DREAMS.

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19. IN THE NAME OF JUSTICE, MY GOVERNMENT ALSO SHARES WITH YOURS A COMMITMENT TO SEE NAMIBIA INDEPENDENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION.

20. ABOUT A YEAR AGO, THE UNITED STATES AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ORGANIZED A CONTACT GROUP TO SEARCH, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF RESOLUTION 385, FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT LEADING TO AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA.

21. THAT SETTLEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE FREE ELECTIONS AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH FAIRLY REPRESENT ALL THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AN EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE WILL BE NEEDED.

22. THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS. BUT CRITICAL QUESTIONS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED. ALL PARTIES MUST CONTINUE TO BE WILLING TO MAKE COMPROMISES IN ORDER TO PRODUCE A SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND THE INTER-

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NATIONAL COMMUNITY.

23. THIS CAN -- AND MUST-- BE DONE, SOON.

24. THE TRAGEDY OF ZIMBABWE, TOO, CAN BECOME A TRIUMPH OF STATESMANSHIP. AS IN NAMIBIA, THE HOUR IS LATE, BUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PEACEFUL AND SPEEDY TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE REMAINS ALIVE.

25. WE SHARE YOUR COMMITMENT TO A SOLUTION BASED ON THESE PRINCIPLES:

--FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS;

--TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE; AND

--RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS OF ALL THE CITIZENS OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

26. THE PLAN MY COUNTRY AND GREAT BRITAIN PRESENTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN SEPTEMBER CAN ACHIEVE ALL THESE GOALS, WHEREAS THE SALISBURY SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL WILL NOT. BUT THOSE PARTS OF THE SALISBURY PROPOSALS WHICH ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN, AS IN THE

ACCEPTANCE OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, ARE A STEP IN THE RIGHT

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DIRECTION.

27. THE PRESENT CHALLENGE TO OUR DIPLOMACY IS TO HELP ALL
THE PARTIES BUILD ON THE AREAS OF AGREEMENT SO AS TO FIND A
PATH FOR ZIMBABWE THAT DOES NOT LEAD TO A TRAGIC CIVIL WAR.
THIS PATH MUST LEAD INSTEAD TO GENUINE MAJORITY RULE AND
A FUTURE IN WHICH THE RIGHTS OF EACH CITIZEN OF ZIMBABWE,
REGARDLESS OF RACE, ARE PROTECTED.

28. MY GOVERNMENT HAS JOINED YOURS AND OTHERS IN SEEKING
THIS PATH BECAUSE WE SHARE A COMMITMENT TO HUMAN JUSTICE.

29. THE DENIAL OF JUSTICE CAN COME IN MANY FORMS. WHETHER
BASED ON RACE OR BASED ON PRIVILEGE, IT REMAINS INJUSTICE
AND MUST BE OPPOSED. OPPRESSION OF BLACKS BY BLACK GOVERN-
MENTS IS AS REPREHENSIBLE AS OPPRESSION OF BLACKS BY WHITE
MINORITY GOVERNMENTS. WE WILL SIDE WITH THOSE WHO ARE
WORKING FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION THROUGHOUT AFRICA, NO
MATTER WHO THE OPPRESSORS ARE.

30. I AM GREATLY ENCOURAGED THAT NIGERIA AND OTHERS IN THE
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AFRICA GROUP AT THE UNITED NATIONS MOVED THIS YEAR TO CON-
SIDER THE OPPRESSIVE POLICIES OF ONE OF ITS OWN MEMBER
NATIONS.

31. I AM ENCOURAGED, TOO, BY THE PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY

BEING MADE BY MANY OF THE NATIONS OF AFRICA. NIGERIA IS
AN OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE. THE TWO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS
YOU HAVE ALREADY HELD LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT
IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE ITS COURAGEOUS DECISION TO
ESTABLISH CIVILIAN RULE BY 1979.

32. SEVERAL OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS ARE ALSO MOVING TOWARD
CIVILIAN RULE OR HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR INTENTION TO DO SO.

33. THE EXPERIENCE OF THESE AND NATIONS IN OTHER REGIONS
REFUTES THE ARGUMENT THAT DENIAL OF DEMOCRACY AND
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES IS A NECESSARY STAGE IN NATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT.

34. EACH COUNTRY MUST, OF COURSE, ADAPT THE MACHINERY OF
DEMOCRACY TO FIT ITS OWN PARTICULAR NEEDS, A PROCESS
THAT YOUR OWN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HAS ALREADY BEGUN.
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35. THE ONLY COMMON ELEMENTS ARE FREE ELECTIONS AND
RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR THE LAW, AND FOR THE
DIGNITY OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN.

36. WHEREVER THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES EXIST, A
GOVERNMENT CAN ACCOMMODATE TO NECESSARY CHANGE WITHOUT
BREAKING, AND ITS PEOPLE CAN DEMAND SUCH CHANGE WITHOUT
BEING BROKEN.

37. THESE PRINCIPLES ARE NECESSARY FOR DEMOCRACY -- AND
THEY SUSTAIN DEVELOPMENT AS WELL. FOR IN A DEMOCRACY,
THE PEOPLE CAN BEST ENSURE THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT WILL
PROMOTE THEIR ECONOMIC RIGHTS AS WELL AS THEIR POLITICAL

AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

38. BY "ECONOMIC RIGHTS," I MEAN THAT EVERY PERSON HAS
THE RIGHT TO THE EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, NUTRITION AND
EMPLOYMENT WHICH ALLOW MEN AND WOMEN TO BUILD BETTER
LIVES.

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39. THIS BRINGS ME TO OUR SECOND GREAT COMMON GOAL:
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EQUITABLE ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

40. MY COUNTRY IS READY TO DO ITS FAIR SHARE TO SUPPORT
AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT, BOTH BECAUSE IT IS IN OUR OWN INTEREST
AND BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT.

41. MORE AND MORE, THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF AMERICA
DEPENDS ON OUR TRADE WITH THE LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS.
A GOOD EXAMPLE IS THE BENEFITS TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES FROM
THE GROWING TRADE BETWEEN NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES,
WHICH NOW STANDS AT MORE THAN \$7 BILLION A YEAR.

42. I HAVE ASKED OUR CONGRESS TO INCREASE OUR DEVELOPMENT
ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN NATIONS FROM \$214 MILLION THIS YEAR
TO \$294 MILLION NEXT YEAR, INCLUDING A \$90 MILLION
CONTRIBUTION TO THE SAHEL DEVELOPMENT FUND. AND, ON MY
RETURN TO WASHINGTON, I WILL RECOMMEND THAT THE UNITED
STATES CONTRIBUTE (\$150) MILLION TO THE SECOND REPLENISH-
MENT OF THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND.

43. THE 2,500 PEACE CORPS MEMBERS WILL CONTINUE TO LEND

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THEIR SKILLS -- AS WELL AS ENRICHING OUR OWN COUNTRY ON
THEIR RETURN WITH THE CULTURAL AND HUMAN VALUES THEY
LEARN FROM YOU.

44. THERE ARE OTHER WAYS, TOO, IN WHICH WE CAN COOPERATE
FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

45. WE CAN DO SO BY MAKING TRADE BETWEEN US INCREASINGLY
FREE AND FAIR. PRIVATE INVESTMENT CAN HELP, UNDER
ARRANGEMENT BENEFITTING BOTH INVESTORS AND HOST COUNTRIES.
AND TECHNOLOGY CAN MAKE A CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE.

46. WE ARE READY TO SHARE WITH NIGERIA OUR SPACE
TECHNOLOGY, SO THAT NATIONAL TELEVISIONS SYSTEMS CAN SERVE
YOUR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ENDS, AND SO THAT DATA
COLLECTED BY SATELLITE CAN HELP YOU MANAGE YOUR ENVIRONMENT
AND NATURAL RESOURCES BETTER.

47. AND I AM GIVING NEW PRIORITY TO IMPROVING HEALTH
AROUND THE WORLD. I AM THEREFORE ORDERING A STUDY OF
HOW WE CAN BEST WORK WITH NIGERIA AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF
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AFRICA TO DEAL WITH THE KILLING AND CRIPPLING DISEASES THAT
SO AFFLICT THIS CONTINENT.

48. THREE DAYS AGO I SPOKE IN CARACAS ABOUT OUR COMMITMENT
TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EQUITY. ALL OF US
CAN PROSPER IF WE ACT FAIRLY TOWARD ONE ANOTHER.

49. ALL OF US MUST THEREFORE COME TO FAIR AGREEMENTS
ON SUCH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AS STABILIZING COMMODITY

PRICES AND RELIEVING DEBT BURDEN OF THE POOREST NATIONS.

50. AND EVERY GOVERNMENT HAS THE OBLIGATION TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC JUSTICE AT HOME AS WELL AS WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE WILL GO INCREASINGLY TO THOSE AREAS WHERE IT CAN MAKE THE MOST CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF POOR PEOPLE.

51. PROGRESS TOWARDS OUR GOAL OF EQUITABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REQUIRES THE PURSUIT OF OUR THIRD GOAL, AS WELL -- SELF-DETERMINATION AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IN AFRICA. FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS BEST PURSUED IN TIMES OF PEACE. AND AFRICANS THEMSELVES CAN BEST FIND PEACEFUL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ANSWERS TO AFRICAN DISPUTES, THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND, WHEN NEEDED, WITH THE HELP OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

52. THE MILITARY INTERVENTION OF OUTSIDE POWERS OR THEIR SURROGATES IN SUCH DISPUTES TOO OFTEN MAKES LOCAL CONFLICTS EVEN MORE COMPLICATED AND DANGEROUS. WE OPPOSE SUCH INTERVENTION. WE MUST NOT ALLOW GREAT POWER RIVALRIES TO DESTROY OUR HOPES FOR AN AFRICA AT PEACE.

53. THIS IS WHY WE APPLAUD THE LEADING ROLE NIGERIA IS PLAYING IN SEEKING TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO SUCH TRAGEDIES AS THE RECENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA.

54. ALTHOUGH I WILL REMAIN CAREFUL TO SEE THAT OUR FRIENDS ARE NOT PUT AT A DISADVANTAGE, I AM WORKING TO CURB OUR

OWN ROLE AS A SUPPLIER OF ARMS TO AFRICA -- AND WE URGE

OTHERS TO SHOW SIMILAR RESTRAINT. WE PREFER TO SEEK GOOD

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RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN NATIONS THROUGH THE WORKS OF PEACE,

NOT OF WAR.

55. PLAINLY, MILITARY RESTRAINT BY OUTSIDERS CAN BEST BE

BROUGHT ABOUT IF AFRICAN NATIONS ACTIVELY SEEK THAT

RESTRAINT. MY COUNTRY WOULD WELCOME REGIONAL UNDERSTAND-

INGS AMONG AFRICAN NATIONS THAT WOULD LIMIT THE FLOW OF

ARMS INTO THIS CONTINENT -- AND WOULD ABIDE BY SUCH

UNDERSTANDINGS.

56. I CAN SENSE, AS I STAND HERE IN NIGERIA, THAT I AM IN

A NATION AND A CONTINENT WORKING FOR FREEDOM.

57. FREEDOM FROM RACISM AND THE DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

58. FREEDOM FROM WANT.

59. AND FREEDOM FROM THE DOMINATION OF OUTSIDE POWERS.

60. WE STAND BY YOU IN YOUR WORK. FOR I COME FROM A

NATION THAT HAS SHARED SIMILAR STRUGGLES, AND IS ALSO

STRIVING FOR SUCH FREEDOM.

61. IN MY OWN LIFETIME, I HAVE EXPERIENCED THE LIBERATION

THAT CAN COME TO A PEOPLE WHEN THEY BEGIN TO PUT RACIAL

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DIVISION AND INJUSTICE BEHIND THEM.

62. I BELIEVE THAT THIS DAY IS COMING FOR AFRICA. AND ON

THAT DAY, BLACKS AND WHITES ALIKE WILL FIND THEMSELVES FREE

AT LAST. COOPER

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